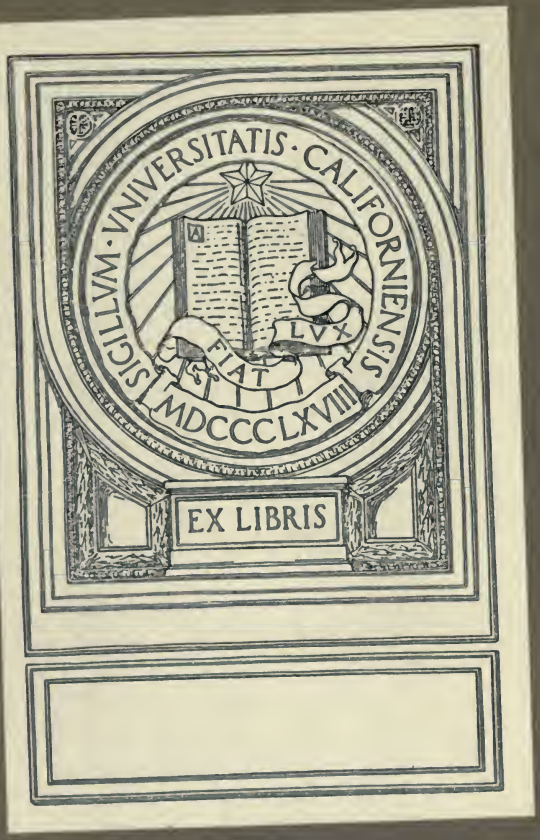
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SPEECH

OF

MR. STEWART, OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN DEFENCE OF THE PROTECTIVE POLICY.

Delivered in the House of Representatives of the U. S., May 27, 1846.

Mr. STEWART rose, in reply to Mr. Payne, and said that, reluctant as he was to say another word upon the tariff, he could not permit the remarks of the gentleman from Alabama to pass unnoticed. After the violent assault made by that gentleman on the tariff and the "National Fair," the paternity of which the gentleman attributed to him, he could not resist the appeals of his friends to say something in their defence and vindication. He thanked the gentleman, however, for one thing; that, whilst he denounced the "National Fair" as a humbug, he had not included the fair ladies who graced it by their presence, or the beautiful factory girls, whose modesty and intelligence, he was sure, could not have failed to extort a smile of approbation, and a word of commendation, too, even from the gentleman from Alabama himself. In the remarks it was now his purpose to make, he would confine himself strictly to a reply to the arguments and observations made by the gentleman from Alabama, (Mr. Payne.) And he availed himself of this opportunity of reply the more readily, because it had been given out by gentlemen here, who were authorized to speak on that subject, that, as soon as the House should have gone through with the appropriation bills, the bill for the repeal of the tariff would be taken up and passed without debate, under the previous question, and by the force of appeals to party. Mr. S. did not say that such would be the case; but, anticipating the possibility of a course so unfair and discreditable, from what had occurred on other occasions, he should embrace the present opportunity to reply to the arguments (if arguments they might be called) which had been employed by the gentleman from Alabama. That gentleman had repeated the Southern stereotyped free-trade doctrines urged upon all occasions against the protective policy by gentlemen from that quarter.

The gentleman had opened his speech by the usual appeals to *party*. He had treated this as a party question; in proof of which he had quoted the Baltimore Convention, and, reminding those of his own party that a reduction of the tariff had there been resolved upon, he called upon them to redeem their pledges by carrying out this party resolution.

[Mr. Payne here interposed to explain, and the floor having been yielded him for that purpose, went on to say, that he disclaimed totally having appealed to the Baltimore Convention, or to the resolutions there adopted, as controlling the action of this House. What he had said was this: "How far a convention, called for one purpose, and acting upon another, ought to control the action of a deliberative body, was a question he would not discuss; but that, when a convention did approve certain doctrines, and those doctrines were afterwards taken before the people, and the elections of the country made to turn upon them, the Representatives who had been elected under such circumstances were bound to carry out the pledges thus given."]

J. & G. S. Gideon, printers.

Mr. STEWART. Very well: the gentleman now said, in substance, that the Democratic party had pledged themselves to repeal the tariff of 1842, and that nine-tenths of the Democratic members of this House would stand to their pledge. We shall see. Let the gentleman ask my Democratic colleagues how this is. They will tell him that the only dispute in Pennsylvania at the last Presidential election was, whether the Democrats or Whigs were the strongest tariff party. And they will tell the gentleman another thing, that, if he were to fling his "free-trade" banner to the breeze, and march through that good and glorious old Commonwealth, with his drum-major, Father Ritchie, of the Union, and the whole tribe of little free-trade fiddlers and fifers at his heels, he could not get a corporal's guard to follow him.

Mr. S. regretted that gentlemen should make these appeals to party. This was no party question: it was a great *American* question, whose intrinsic importance soared far above and beyond the reach of all mere party interests and party considerations. Why should gentlemen indulge in these party appeals on a great national question like this? Were they afraid to discuss it on its own intrinsic independent merits? Could that be the reason that they made these appeals to the poor, pitiful, paltry, and grovelling interests of party politics? Was this a time or an occasion for such appeals? No. Let the policy of protecting our national industry be discussed on great and broad American principles. It ought to be and it would be so treated by every man who had a true American heart in his bosom.

[Here an attempt was made to interrupt Mr. S. by questions, but he refused to yield the floor.]

Gentlemen would, he hoped, have a full opportunity to answer all in good time. Let them take notes of the arguments he gave them, and when they had heard him through, answer him, and show that he was in error, if they could. Ample time for the investigation would be afforded before the coming up of the tariff bill, and he invited gentlemen to the task. But the gentleman's appeal had been made not to reason, not to facts, but to party feeling and party pledges. Such appeals had been repeatedly made, both in this House and in the Government organ. In the latter, these appeals were almost daily made to the Democratic party in that House, as such, to come up to the rescue and save themselves from the deep disgrace that would follow a failure to repeal the tariff. Mr. S. admitted that, in one important aspect, this was a party question; but who were the parties? Americans on the one side and the British on the other—American labor against the pauper labor of Europe. These were the real and only parties in this great contest for the American market—Americans against foreigners: and the true and practical question for every gentleman to decide, each for himself, was, which side he would take—the American side or the British side. That was the question. He trusted gentlemen would decide in favor of their own country—in favor of their own farmers, mechanics, and laboring men—that they would protect their own labor employed in the conversion of our own agricultural produce into articles for use, instead of importing them from abroad; for it was demonstrable that more than one-half of the hundred millions of dollars annually sent abroad to purchase foreign goods was sent to pay for foreign agricultural produce worked up into goods by labor employed and fed in foreign countries, instead of our own. This was the anti-American policy now advocated by the gentleman and his friends upon this floor. This he affirmed fearlessly, and challenged gentlemen to controvert it if they could.

The gentleman from Alabama next spoke in a very disparaging manner of the "National Fair," which was now being holden in this city for the display of the ingenuity and talent, industry, enterprise, and skill of the people of our own country. The gentleman, in the face of an American House of Representatives, spoke with contempt of such a display. Had the gentleman been to see it?

He spoke as if from information only. Had he seen this splendid fair for himself? If he had, and would but give fair play to his own good sense and good feelings, Mr. S. was very sure that such a spectacle must have filled his American heart, if he had one—and he did not doubt it—with exultation and delight, Such a collection was well fitted to be the boast and glory of the country. Who that had a heart within him to feel for the honor, the independence, the strength, and the prosperity of his country, could look on such a spectacle and not feel all his national pride called forth by the display?

The gentleman talked about the "lords of the spindle;" but was it they alone who were represented in that fair? Far from it. It was the mechanics of the country who had reason to congratulate themselves on this great assemblage of their works. Let the gentleman go to the mechanics of this country, and let him, if he thought it prudent, tell that great interest that the fruits of their industry, invention, and enterprise were all a humbug. If he did, Mr. S. feared greatly that they might consider the gentleman a humbug himself. Was that the gentleman's doctrine, that the interest of the mechanic arts and the interests of American agriculture were a humbug? Would the gentleman tell our farmers that that was democratic doctrine? Mr. S. fancied not.

There was a gentleman from England with specimens of British goods, now occupying the committee-room over which you, Mr. Chairman, (Mr. Hopkins, of Va., occupying the chair,) have the honor of presiding, almost in the hearing of my voice, and he has been there for months displaying his foreign goods, to influence the votes of members to favor the British; and this is all fair and beautiful in the eyes of gentlemen who look with abhorrence upon this American fair, got up to counteract this bold and barefaced British attempt, made in this House, to influence our legislation, to destroy our tariff, and again inundate our country with British goods. The gentleman from Alabama had visited this *British* fair, and had he complained of that? Had he denounced the putting of one of the committee rooms of this House to such a use as a bold and profligate attempt to bias and control the legislation of this House? Far from it. The British agent had been here for months past. He had conducted member after member to his display of British fabrics, and gentlemen of this House, and the gentleman from Alabama himself, had gone there and contemplated, he supposed, with infinite satisfaction, these products of foreign industry. For what had they been brought there? For what purpose, to what end, had a foreign agent been accommodated with an apartment in a house appropriated to American legislation, in the very Capitol itself? For what, but expressly for the purpose of swaying and biasing and controlling the legislation of that House on the tariff? This the gentleman had denounced in terms of the highest indignation, when the products were the works of American hands, and the fruits of American capital and skill, and when they were exhibited, not in a committee room of that House, but in a building erected by the manufacturers themselves, at their own cost, and whither they had invited their fellow-citizens to assemble from every part of the land. It was all wrong that this should be done by Americans, but all perfectly right when it was done by an agent of the British manufacturers. The gentleman could gaze with infinite gratification on a committee room filled with foreign fabrics, but turned with disgust from a building put up by American hands, and filled with the splendid and varied fruits of American ingenuity and skill. This was a humbug, compared by the official paper to a "menagerie," a "bagatelle," and all those glorious and beautiful proofs of the inventive powers of our countrymen were contemptible humbugs, the fruits of sordid interest, the devices of avarice and cupidity. He envied no man such feelings—they were not American—they could find no place in an American heart. But this was a matter of taste: he went to the *American*, other gentlemen to the *British* fair; a mere difference in taste. But (Mr. S. said) he had seen, in the last hour, with emotions which he

could not describe, a collection of a thousand [a voice, "three thousand"] American children brought to look upon this sight, and learn, in their tender years, to love their own country better than any foreign land. Among these were doubtless many of the future mechanics and manufacturers, and not a few of the future legislators of our country. He rejoiced that they had learned a better lesson than to prefer the prosperity of foreigners to that of their own parents, brothers, and countrymen. If the gentleman would step to the window behind him, he could behold these beautiful children on their march to the Capitol. Was this American sight offensive to the gentleman? Would he destroy these American products also, and import them from abroad? [Great merriment.] He hoped not. But he had done with the fair; and he now turned to consider some of the arguments which had been adduced by the gentleman from Alabama, for whom he cherished a high personal respect, who was doubtless actuated by patriotic feelings, and whom he should be happy to hear in reply to what he was now about to say.

The first argument of the gentleman had been the position, that the effect of a protective tariff was oppressive, especially on the poor, and on the interests of agriculture and labor. How was it oppressive upon these? No other interest in the country was half as much benefited by the tariff as the farmers, and mechanics, and workingmen. The gentleman said that it injured them by increasing the price of manufactured commodities; for the gentleman's assertion was, that protection did invariably increase the price of the articles protected. Now, in reply, Mr. S. would distinctly put forth this assertion, to which he challenged contradiction, viz: that there never was a protective duty levied in this country, on any article which we could and did manufacture extensively, which had not resulted in bringing down the price of that article, and he challenged gentlemen to point him to a single instance in reference to which this was not true. The prices of commodities, instead of being raised by protection, had been reduced to one-third, one-fourth, and even to one-tenth and one-twelfth part of what had been paid for them when imported from abroad. The gentleman, if he had walked up to the Fair, might there have seen American cotton, such as had cost, when the enormous minimums were first imposed for its protection by Mr. Lowndes and Mr. Calhoun, eighty-five cents a yard, now ready to be delivered in any quantity, and of better quality, at seven cents; and woollen jeans, sold in 1840 at sixty-five cents, now selling, of much better quality, for thirty-five; and these articles were subject to the very highest duties in the whole catalogue—proving, beyond all contestation, the truth of the proposition denounced as an absurdity by the gentleman, that the highest duties often produce the lowest prices, when levied on articles which we can supply to the extent of our own wants. Here was the result of American industry, skill, and improvement, when left free to act out their own energies, and occupy, fully and freely, their own appropriate markets, without the disturbing and destructive competition of the pauper labor of Europe. Mr. S. had mentioned the article of cotton, because it afforded a striking illustration of the general doctrine, showing that the minimums, the highest protective duties, had produced the greatest reduction of prices. But the same thing was true, to a greater or less extent, with respect to every protected article in the entire list. Mr. S. stated incontrovertible matters of fact. He challenged contradiction—he courted investigation—he defied gentlemen to disprove an atom of what he had asserted. And, to put this truth in the strongest light, he repeated that the highest and most obnoxious duties, those abhorred minimums, against which gentlemen had wasted such furious denunciations, presented precisely the very cases where the reduction of price had been the greatest. Those duties, it is said, now amounted to two and three hundred per cent. *ad valorem*. And why? Because they were fixed specific duties. They remained stationary, however prices might change; and, of course, as the

price went down, the duty bore a larger and still larger proportion to it. At first, the duty was, say, half the price of the article; as the price declined, the duty became equal to the price; then it became greater than the price; then double the price; and, at length, treble; and then gentlemen exclaimed in horror, "What an abominable duty! It is three hundred per cent. on the total value of the article! What horrible profits! How the duty must raise the price!" when, all the while, the duty remained the same, and its effect had been, not to increase, but to bring down the price just three hundred per cent.—from thirty cents down to seven and a half cents per yard, and this was robbery and plunder! And still the gentleman said it was an absurdity, which no man could swallow, to say that the higher the protective duty the lower the price. Now, Mr. S. would venture to say, that if the duty on iron and its manufactures were increased to-morrow five hundred per cent., the rapid rush of capital into that business, and the vast increase of supply would be such, and the consequent reduction of price so great, that the United States would soon supply the world with iron, its capacity for its production being unlimited. He had stated facts, showing that high duties had produced low prices. Can the gentleman deny them? There they stand on impregnable foundations, firm as the hills! Let the gentleman and his friends disprove them as they can. That such is the practical operation of the system is fully established by the fact, that whilst manufactures of various kinds had declined to one-fourth of their former price, *agricultural* produce and the *wages* of labor had underwent little or no reduction, owing to the constantly increasing home demand for both, resulting from the protective policy.

But he wished to be understood correctly. Mr. S. did not say that the effect of all duties was to diminish prices; on the contrary, he did not deny that it was the effect of some duties to increase prices. But what he said was this: that duties levied on articles we could make, to the extent of our own wants, and with a view to protect our own manufacturers, did in all cases operate, in the end, to lower prices, by increasing capital, competition, and supply. Duties imposed on foreign articles which we could not make for ourselves, would generally increase the prices, because they did not increase the supply by increasing home competition. His position was this: *duties levied for revenue on articles we cannot produce increased prices; whilst protective duties, levied on articles we can and do produce, diminished price.* The truth of both these propositions was proved by undeniable facts, and by all experience. And the reason was just as obvious as the fact. When the supply of an article was not equal to the demand, he admitted the immediate effect of a high duty might for the moment increase the price and profits of its manufacture, but this very increase induced capital to rush into it, and the competition and increased supply resulting, soon brought down the price and profits to the lowest rates, proving the truth of the proposition, that the "higher the duty, the lower the price." The imposition of a duty on an article produced here, gave an impulse to American enterprise; the machinery employed in its production was studied and improved; an increased supply was the natural consequence; and increased supply, while the demand remained the same, must always diminish prices. Would the gentleman undertake to deny that the proportion between demand and supply regulated price? Mr. S. hardly thought that he would go so far as that. But, as the gentleman had asserted that duties raised prices, he was bound to prove the truth of his position by quoting facts. The man who asserted a thing to be a fact was bound to prove it, in court or out of court. As a lawyer the gentleman knew this to be so. Now, Mr. S. challenged the gentleman to put his finger on one solitary case where his assertion was true. What one *protected* article, the product of American skill and industry, had been permanently increased in price, after the duties, however high, had been first imposed for its protection? Mr. S. challenged the gentleman and all his friends to point to *one*. Name the article—a pin or a

needle. The gentleman had not—he could not do it. And yet he stood up in the face of the country and the world, and advanced the position that protective duties always increased prices. Mr. S. made his appeal to facts. Let the gentleman meet him with facts. He could not; he dealt altogether in assertions against facts. Now if, as Mr. S. had proved, protective duties had not increased, but *reduced* prices, what became of all this clamor about high prices, robbery, oppression, and plunder? It vanished into thin air; it had no foundation to stand on, and the gentleman and his followers were bound by their own principles to go for the protective policy, which reduced the price of manufactured goods by increasing the supply; whilst, on the other hand, it increased the price by increasing the demand for agricultural produce, and enhanced the wages of labor by increasing its employments.

Bnt the gentleman had also said, that while the tariff was oppressive on the interests of agriculture and of labor, it was highly beneficial to invested capital, to the rich monopolists, the lords of the loom. Now, Mr. S. said that just the reverse of this was true. While protection benefited both agriculture and labor, it was but a small advantage, if any, to *vested capital.* The gentleman and his friends, without knowing it, were in fact doing more for the benefit of *vested capital*, by keeping up this agitation and opposition to the tariff, and thereby establishing a monopoly by checking competition, than all the tariff men in that House put together. In the case of vested capital the tariff had done its work; it had built the manufactories up; it had introduced improved machinery and increased skill; it had done all that fixed capital required. Vested capital was now on its feet—it could get along without help. They had exported during the last year between four and five millions of dollars worth of cotton cloth; they had beaten the British out of their own markets. The great manufacturers of these goods feared no foreign competition; they had overcome that. All that they now feared was American competition at home. The protective tariff raised against them that very competition. While advocating, therefore, the continuance of our existing tariff, and resisting its reduction, Mr. S. was working in the most direct and efficient manner for the interests of American labor—he was resisting foreign; he was going for the interests of the American farmers and the American laborers, and not for the interests of large vested capital; he went to destroy existing monopoly, by increasing investments and competition—the only thing that could destroy it. It was the gentleman, and those who acted with him, by keeping up this tariff agitation—it was they who were aiding capital. This agitation operated to check new investments, and of course to promote and secure monopoly. Those who were contemplating the investment of new capital would defer it. One would say to another, "Don't build a new mill or furnace now, the tariff is going to be reduced." Mr. S. knew this to be true. He had heard of twelve large companies who had intended to build furnaces in Pennsylvania this spring, but had suspended their purpose till they should see what Congress would do with the tariff at the present session. Did this hurt those who already owned manufacturing establishments? Certainly not; it was the very thing to aid them. This gave New England a monopoly; it secured in her hands that which the people of Pennsylvania and the people of the South most wanted. They wanted protection—New England could do without it. Virginia wanted it, North Carolina wanted it, so did South Carolina and Georgia, and all the West. They wanted protection to build them up; in New England the tariff had done its work—it had fulfilled its office. New England might now say to this Government, "Father, I am now of age; I am on my own feet; I can make my way through the world; I have met John Bull and beat him; I thank you very much for what you have done for me, and I will be a burden onyou no longer; now take care of the younger branches of the family."

The rest of the country was comparatively young in manufactures. They still

needed the helping hand of Government; they wanted protection in their infancy. New England was magnanimous and patriotic; she wished to see other portions of the country prosper by following her example; when the South and West supplied, as they could, the coarser goods, she would go to work on the finer fabrics. Did not the gentleman see that by reducing the tariff he was checking investments in his own country and in mine, in the South and West, and thereby securing a monopoly to vested capital, wherever it existed, and present high profits, which could only be reduced by enlarged competition at home? Was not this true? Was it not common sense? He put it to every man's understanding. It was not only common sense, but, what was more, it was proved by universal experience.

To show the practical operation of the protective policy, he would take, by way of illustration, the neighboring iron works at Mount Savage, near Cumberland. That establishment has been built up within a few years. Some time before it was commenced land could be bought there for two and three dollars an acre, which could not now be purchased under twenty or thirty dollars; and mineral lands had lately been sold at hundreds of dollars per acre, which, a few years before these improvements were made, were comparatively worthless. Such were the effects of the protective policy. Was this system hurtful to agriculture? Then let gentlemen look at the Laurel Factory, not far from this city. The proprietor of that factory lately bought the ground on which it stood for five dollars an acre; and the same proprietor was now trying to purchase land in the neighborhood at fifty, and could not get it. This was the effect of giving the farmers a market. Manufacturing establishments multiplied the value of farms in their vicinity often ten, twenty, and sometimes, mineral lands, an hundred fold. And what was its effect upon labor? Did it not increase the price of labor? What raised prices but an increased demand? What depressed prices but the destruction of employment? The protective policy, by increasing the number of manufacturing establishments, of course increased the number of persons employed in them, thereby creating a greater demand and higher wages for labor. Laborers of all descriptions flock to the furnaces—coal diggers, choppers, teamsters, and a thousand others. Now, suppose the gentleman should quit his agitation, make no more appeals to party, and no more anti-tariff speeches, what would be the effect? Would not others go to building up new establishments? And would not that furnish new markets for farmers, and employment for labor of all sorts? The Mount Savage works employed in various ways from four to five thousand men. Let three or four more such establishments go up in that vicinity, and you would have at once a demand for three or four times as many hands, and for all sorts of agricultural produce in the same proportion. How, then, could gentlemen assert that the protective policy was oppressive to labor and agriculture?

Mr. Holmes, of S. C., put a question to Mr. Stewart, whether all this was not done by taxing the South for the benefit of New England?]

The gentleman asked whether all this benefit did not grow out of a tax upon the South? Mr. S. would answer the gentleman; if these factories were built by Government, then this might, to some extent, be true. But they were built, not by Government, but by individual enterprise; and what sort of a tax was it upon the South to give them better goods for one-fourth the price they formerly paid? Mr. S. said he was very sorry that his excellent friend from South Carolina should feel such deep regret at the prosperity of New England. If he thought that New England was getting rich upon manufactures, he would advise him to go home and do likewise; to follow the example, and grow rich also. The gentleman said that the planters of the South were working the whole year for a profit of four or five per cent., while the manufacturers of New England were getting forty or fifty. Was it not a free country? Who gave New Eng-

land exclusive privileges? Why did not the South engage in the same forty or fifty per cent. business, instead of working on at four or five? Why did not they commence with coarse fabrics, made from their own cotton, just as New England had done before them? But New England was now passing from that stage, and going into the higher and finer branches. The South, he was glad to learn, were now commencing. True, they were yet in the A B C of the business; they were in their infancy; they wanted the fostering care and protection of Government. The tariff on the coarse fabrics was now for their benefit. New England wanted it no longer on the coarse, but only on the higher and finer fabrics, in which they were now struggling with foreigners, who were endeavoring to break them down by flooding our markets with these articles at an under value, hoping to indemnify themselves for temporary losses by future exorbitant prices, extorted from us when American competition is put down and destroyed.

How was it that Southern gentlemen could shut their eyes to the result of their own unwise policy? Let them look how they stood, and then look at the North. The North applied their shoulder to the wheel; they went to work to better their condition; they husbanded their own resources; they employed and diversified their labor; they lived upon their own means; kept their money at home to reward their own industry, instead of foolishly sending it abroad to purchase what they could so well and so profitably supply at home. But South Carolina and her Southern sisters would touch neither hammer nor shuttle. They sent away their money to New England, or to old England. And what was the consequence of these two opposite systems? South Carolina was poor and dependant, while New England was independent and prosperous. South Carolina, when the Federal Constitution was adopted, had five representatives. North Carolina five, and Virginia ten representatives on this floor. They all cherished a deadly hostility to every thing connected with the manufactures, internal improvements, and progress of every kind. They denied to this Government the power of self-protection and self-improvement; they went for the stand-still, lie-down, go-to-sleep, let-us-alone, do-nothing policy; they had tried to live on whip syllabub political metaphysics and constitutional abstractions, until it had nearly starved them to death, while the Northern States had wisely pursued the opposite policy; and what had been the effect on their relative prosperity? New York began with six representatives in that hall; now she had thirty-four. Pennsylvania began with eight, and now she had twenty-four. Virginia, with North and South Carolina, had commenced with twenty representatives, and New York with six; now they have, altogether, thirty, and New York alone has thirty-four. Such are the fruits of the opposite systems of policy adopted by the North and the South. Judge the tree by its fruits. Will men never learn wisdom from experience? He would rejoice to see the South as prosperous and as happy as the North. They had all the elements of wealth and prosperity in profusion around them—the raw materials and bread stuffs, minerals, and water-power in abundance, running to waste. If they would allow him to offer them advice, it would be to abandon an exploded and ruinous policy; follow the example of the North, and share in their prosperity. Instead of coming here repining and complaining that the North was rich and prosperous, making forty or fifty per cent. profit on their capital, whilst the South realized but four or five, just turn round, quit your four or five per cent. profits, and go to work at forty or fifty. If the tariff was confined to the North, you might complain; but it was free to all alike—North and South, East and West. Go to the hammer and the loom, the furnace and the forge, and become prosperous in your turn. All these blessings are within your reach, if you will but put forth your hands to grasp them; they are offered freely to your acceptance. You enjoy great advantages. You have not only all the advantages enjoyed by the North for man-

ufacturing, but you have others superadded; you supply the raw material, and, above all, you have *labor without wages*, perfectly available for such purposes; the hands of the young and old, now useless for the field, might, in factories, become highly profitable and productive operatives. Take hold, then, on the same industry which had made New England great, and especially on those branches of it which New England now could and would spare. Then South Carolina would be, thus far, independent both of New England and of all the world. She could no longer hope to compete with Texas and the rich lands of the Southwest in the production of cotton. Her worn-out fields must sink in a contest with the virgin soil of the new States. Then let her address herself to manufactures. The gentleman from South Carolina seemed to observe, with grief and envy, that New England was enjoying profits of from forty to fifty per cent. What if she did? If she gave that to South Carolina for six cents per yard which Carolina once could not get from abroad under thirty-six, the question for Carolina to look at was, not what profits New England *made*, but what prices she *charged* her. That gentleman wanted his State to go to old England for all she required. We were all to depend on Europe for our manufactured articles. Foreign countries were to enjoy exclusively the profitable business yielding forty and fifty per cent., while we were all to turn farmers, and join the gentleman in working, as he said, for a profit of four and five per cent., and again give old England twenty-five cents a yard for what New England now offered them for six. Was not this patriotic? Was it not a noble, an enlarged American policy? England was to be allowed to monopolize all the profitable business, the result of labor-saving machinery, while we were to content ourselves with the plough and the hoe, and profits at the rate of five per cent. Was that the policy for America to pursue? They might be Americans who recommended it, but they were certainly playing into the hands of our transatlantic competitors. If manufacturing was such profitable business as these gentlemen represented it to be, why not let Americans have it rather than foreigners? Why not keep our money and our profits to ourselves, instead of giving both to the labor of Great Britain? The profits of manufacturing were chiefly owing to the use and constant improvement of labor-saving machinery. The saving of labor and the increase of human power produced in this manner was almost incalculable. By its aid one feeble woman was enabled to accomplish more in a day than would pay for the productions of forty able-bodied, hard-handed men without it. Did gentlemen desire, and was it their policy, to let England enjoy all this benefit, and keep it to herself as a monopoly? It was this, and this alone, that kept the British Government from bankruptcy. This prolific source of wealth and power enabled the British people to stand up under a debt of four thousand millions of dollars, and to pay taxes to the Government amounting to more than two hundred and fifty millions every year. This was the result of her immense labor-saving machinery. Was it the policy of gentlemen to let England have this profitable business of manufacturing all to herself? That seemed to be the policy of the Secretary of the Treasury. Indeed, he had avowed it in his report to be his settled policy to break down the manufacturers of our own country, and derive his revenue from British and other foreign goods. His policy was to increase revenue by increasing importations; and, as he would reduce the average of duties to one-half, of course, to get the same amount of revenue, we must double our imports. This was manifest and undeniable. Our present imports amounted to one hundred millions; to carry out the Secretary's plan we must raise them to two hundred millions. Our exports were about one hundred millions, and of course one hundred millions in specie would be required annually to pay the balance. The whole specie of the country had never been estimated at more than eighty millions. How, then, was his policy to work? How was he to make up this deficit? Not from the banks, for they would be broken up within the very first

year of such a system; and then what was Mr. Secretary going to do for his revenue? The duty on foreign iron, he tells us, is now 75 per cent. He was for reducing it to 30 per cent.—less than one-half. We must, of course, import more than double the amount of foreign iron to get the present amount of revenue, and to that extent break up American supply. Now, it was impossible to make our people double their consumption, and so the result must necessarily be to get them to take foreign goods where they now took domestic, thus reducing the demand, and of course destroying the domestic supply to that extent. Was not all this plain? Could any man in his senses deny it? And then, besides, where was the Secretary going to get the money to pay for all these foreign goods? There was the rub. The gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Bayly) talked about exporting potatoes to Ireland. Export potatoes to Ireland! He would tell that gentleman that last year we imported 211,327 bushels, paying a duty of ten cents per bushel —15,045 from Ireland, while Ireland took of all our grain only 790 bushels of corn, not a barrel of flour, cornmeal, or a bushel of grain, or its productions in any other form. The whole of our mighty export of breadstuffs to England, Scotland, and Ireland, amounted to less than $224,000, less than one-fourth of a million—less than could be furnished by a single Western county. Potatoes were cheaper in Ireland than in the United States, yet the people are starving, because they had no protection against England, no money, no *employment*. This was the effect of "free trade" with England, and it was precisely the condition into which "free trade" with England would soon bring this country, if it were adopted. "Free trade" with England reminded him of an anecdote of an Irishman, who, when complaining of starvation in Ireland, was asked whether potatoes were not very cheap? he answered, "Chape? the Lord love ye, they're but saxpence a bushel." "How is it, then, you are starving? "Just becase we have no work, and can't get the saxpence." (A laugh.) Such were the fruits of exchanging agricultural products for manufactured goods—the products of manual labor for the products of machinery—working the hoe against the loom. Such had been and always would be the result of this miserable system of policy, whenever and wherever adopted.

Next the gentleman complained of taxation. What tax did farmers and laborers now pay the United States? Nothing. Many of them used nothing but domestics. They bought no *foreign* goods except tea and coffee, and they were free. Thousands and hundreds of thousands of our people don't pay a dollar a year into the National Treasury, and thousands not a cent. How would it be under a system of direct taxation? The burdens of the Federal Government would fall on farmers and laborers more heavily than the heaviest State taxation. Under a system of direct tax the proportion of Pennsylvania would be *three millions* a year—more than double her present heavy State taxation. But all these burdens put together are nothing compared to the taxes imposed on us by the *British*. To form an idea of its extent, let every gentleman ascertain the number of stores selling *British goods* in his district. These merchants are all tax-gatherers for England, taking millions and tens of millions of specie from our farmers for British agricultural produce; wool and every thing else converted into goods and sent here and sold to our farmers, who have those very materials on their hands rotting for want of a market; and this is the ruinous system recommended to our farmers by these "free trade" advocates. The farmers understand it, and they will let gentlemen know it at the polls. They will let gentlemen know what they think of this "*buy everything and sell nothing policy*." They know that the farmer who sells more than he buys gets rich, and he who buys more than he sells gets poor; and they know that the same theory is true with regard to nations; they know that, to sell more and buy less, is the way to wealth, and that the opposite course is the road to bankruptcy and ruin.

The true American policy was PROTECTION and INDEPENDENCE. It was to make America independent of all the world. That was sound American policy; and he trusted no man would suffer himself to be so carried away by mere party politics as to advocate "*free trade*" and *starvation*, twin-sisters, "one and inseparable." *Protection* was the policy which would spread comfort and happiness over the face of a smiling land. Its effect would penetrate our forests, and reach to the remotest hamlet in the West. This would keep our money at home, instead of sending it across the ocean to enrich British manufacturers at our expense.

What was the theory of our learned Secretary? We must reduce duties to increase our revenue. Now, Mr. S. said, and he defied contradiction, that as truly as the thermometer indicated the increase or diminution of heat in the atmosphere, just so truly did the increase or diminution of the tariff mark the increase and the diminution of revenue. He appealed to the record, and defied his opponents to the test.

The Secretary recommended a reduction of duties to an average rate of 20 per cent., and in support of this recommendation he had accompanied his report with a table, at page 956, showing the revenue under different tariffs for the last twenty-five years, viz., four years immediately before the tariff of 1824, four years under the tariff of 1824, four years under the tariff of 1828, ten years under the compromise bill, and three years under the tariff of 1842. And what was the result?

For the four years preceding the tariff of 1824 the average gross revenue was $22,753,000. Under the tariff of 1824, which its opponents at the time predicted would ruin the revenue and compel a resort to direct taxation, the average for the four years of its duration was $28,929,000. Next came the "bill of abominations," the "black tariff of 1828," which it was said would bankrupt the treasury beyond all question, and what was the result? The average revenue during the four years of its operation increased to $30,541,000. Then came the compromise bill of 1833, which brought the tariff down by biennial reductions to a horizontal duty of 20 per cent.; and what was its effect upon the revenue? The revenue declined *pari pasu* with the tariff, yielding for ten years an average of $21,496,000, and the last year of its operation under the 20 per cent. duty only $16,686,000 gross revenue, netting $12,758,000, while our expenditures were more than double that amount. Then came the present tariff, which yielded more than $32,000,000 gross—$27,500,000 net revenue. Now what does our profound Secretary of the Treasury propose to do to improve the revenue? Mark it! He proposes to reduce the tariff to an average of about 20 per cent., which "experience proves," he says, will give the *highest revenue*, and yet this very report shows the fact that a 20 per cent. tariff in 1842 yielded only $12,780,000, while the present tariff last year yielded $27,528,000. Thus, according to the Secretary, *twelve is more than twenty-seven!* A new discovery in arithmetic. The new "free trade" system of finance says "reduce the duties to increase the revenue," a doctrine not only urged upon Congress by the Secretary and "the Union," his organ, but by all the advocates of this new tariff on this floor. "Reduce the duties to increase the revenue!" Can any thing be more absurd—urged in the face of the fact, proved by every official report on the finances from the foundation of the Government, that the revenue has always gone up and gone down as the tariff has gone up or gone down? Yet we are told, "reduce the duties to increase the revenue." Are not duties the source of revenue; and would it not be just as sensible to say "reduce the revenue to increase the revenue?" Duties and revenue are convertible terms. You want twenty-five millions from the tariff—that sum must be raised, no matter how you impose the duties; and why not so arrange them as to protect and sustain your

own national industry, thus making taxation itself prolific of benefits and blessings to the people?

On the subject of the revenue, he would venture to predict that if the system of measures recommended by the Secretary—the reduction of the tariff, the change from specific to ad valorem duties, the Subtreasury, and the warehousing system were adopted—the revenue next year would *not be half* the amount it will be this year. Mark the prediction, "*not half.*"

Who could deny the fact that with the raising of the tariff the revenue increased, and with its diminution the revenue fell off, till at last under 20 per cent., which the Secretary considered the very *beau ideal*—the very perfection of a revenue system—the nett revenue sank down to less than thirteen millions? There was his theory—and there, alongside of it, stood his proof; and his proof utterly subverted his theory. Did it prove that reducing duties to 20 per cent. raised the revenue to its highest point? Just the reverse. It reduced it to the very lowest point of depression. While his theory said that 20 per cent. would give the "highest," his proof showed that it gave the "lowest."

And was not this a pretty time to select for the reduction of duties? Now, when we had just entered into a war, whose duration no man could predict or calculate? When we went to war in 1812 we doubled the duties: now it was proposed to cut them down one-half! What a consummate proof of political wisdom and financial ability was here exhibited!

There was another thing of which the tariff was an index, and that was the public *prosperity*. When the people were poor they could not afford to consume luxuries; imports fell off, and down went the revenue. But when duties were high and domestic competition was excited, agriculture having abundant markets, and labor full and profitable employment, the people became prosperous; they lived in comfort; they could afford to pay for fine goods and luxuries—and up went the revenue. Reduce the tariff, break up American industry, and you clothed the people in rags, and your treasury became bankrupt. The national *revenue* and the national *prosperity* went up and down together, and were always coincident with national *protection*.

Mr. S.'s system was this: Select the articles you can manufacture to the full extent of our own wants, then, in the language of Thomas Jefferson, "impose on them duties lighter at first, and afterwards heavier and heavier as the channels of supply were opened." This was Jefferson's plan; the reverse of modern democratic "free trade." Next Mr. S. went for levying the highest rates of duty on the luxuries of the rich, and not on the necessaries of the poor. Encourage American manufactures, and while on the one hand the poor man found plenty of employment, on the other he got his goods cheap. He could clothe himself decently for a mere trifle. He wanted no foreign commodities but his tea and his coffee, and they were free, and should remain free. The poor man could now buy cloth for a full suit from head to foot for less than *one dollar* of substantial American manufacture. He had himself worn in this hall a garment of this same goods, at 10 cents per yard, and it was so much admired that more than a dozen members had applied for similar garments, and they had been supplied to Senators and others; yet we are told the tariff taxes and oppresses the poor. Put high revenue duties on wines, on brandies, on silks, on laces, on jewelry, on all that which the rich alone consumed and which the poor man did not want. Take off the duties from the poor man's necessaries and give him high wages for his work. That was the way to diffuse happiness and prosperity among the great body of the people. That was good sound democratic policy. He was for lifting up the poor. He was for "levelling upward;" for increasing the domestic comfort of our own laboring population—the true *democracy* of the country. The rich could pay, and ought to be made to pay, and they should pay; the poor man could not, and should not, with his consent.

Mr. S. went for the system which elevated the poor man in the scale of society; that promoted equality, that essential element in all free Governments, not by pulling down the higher, but by lifting up the lower classes to their level. The gentleman from Alabama and his friends advocated a policy which would have precisely the opposite effect. Their system would truly make the "rich richer and the poor poorer." The gentleman advocated a system whose direct and undeniable tendency was to destroy competition, and thereby give a monopoly to the heavy capitalists. He would benefit those very "millionaires" of whose presence here he complained so loudly.

Labor, productive labor, was the great source of national wealth. Its importance was incalculable. Compared with this all other interests dwindled into perfect insignificance. What is all other capital combined compared to the capital of labor—hard-handed, honest labor—the toiling millions? Supposing we have but two millions of working men in the United States, whose wages average $180 per year—this is equal to the interest of $3,000 at six per cent. Each laborer's capital, then, is equal to $3,000 at interest. Multiply this by two millions, the number of laborers, and it gives you a capital amounting to the enormous sum of six thousand millions of dollars, producing, at six per cent., three hundred and sixty millions of dollars a year. This was the "*labor capital*" he wished to sustain and uphold. This was the great *national industry* he wished to protect and defend against the ruinous and degrading effects of a free and unrestricted competition with the pauper labor of foreign lands. He went to secure the American market for American labor. In the great struggle for the American market he took the American side. On the other hand, the gentleman from Alabama and his friends went for "free trade," for opening our ports to the manufacturers of all the world; for bringing in freely the pauper productions of Great Britain, to overwhelm the rising prosperity of our own poor but industrious citizens. They went for crushing American enterprise; grinding down American labor, and putting their countrymen on a footing with the very sweepings of the poor houses of Europe, and would, in the end, bring them down to their *political*, as well as their pecuniary and moral condition. Mr. S. was for cherishing American labor; for giving it high wages; for surrounding it with all the substantial comforts of life. Which was the true friend of the PEOPLE? And yet these "free trade" advocates, from the Secretary down, professed to be the exclusive friends of the "poor man," and we are denounced as the friends of "millionaires and monopolists." We now imported fifty millions worth of British goods annually, and therein we imported twenty-five millions worth of British agricultural products; of English wool, English grain, English beef and mutton, English flax, English agricultural productions of every kind. And yet gentlemen would rise here and talk of a British market for our breadstuffs. Why, how much of this did England take? Not a quarter of a million, in all its forms!

Here was a beautiful reciprocity. Here were the beauties of free trade. Here were our equality of benefits. We took fifty millions in British goods, one-half of it agricultural produce, while she took one-quarter of a million of our breadstuffs. This was our boasted British market. What was this British market to us? The American market consumed annually nearly a thousand millions of American grain; the British market one-quarter of one million. Great Britain took of our flour not a tenth part of the amount taken by the East and West Indies; not a third part as much as Brazil; not as much as the little Island of Cuba; and not much more than half as much as Hayti. Poor, miserable, negro Hayti, took last year 53,144 barrels of our flour, while England, Scotland, and Ireland together, took but 35,355 barrels of flour and *one* barrel of corn-meal. Yet we are told, in the face of these official facts, by the Secretary of the Treasury, that we must take more British goods, otherwise she will have to pay us "*cash for our breadstuffs, and, not having it to spare*, she will not buy as much of

our cotton." What an insult to American farmers is this. As an honorable man must he not blush for his reputation when he looks upon these facts? But what better could we expect from this American Secretary, who, over and over, in his report, denounces the *substitution of American manufactures for foreign goods*, and declares that *direct taxation* is more equitable and just than *duties on foreign goods*, especially in its operation on the poor! Better levy taxes on our own productions than on those of foreigners! Such are the doctrines openly avowed by this Secretary to favor his miserable system of "free trade." Away with such British doctrines as these! They could never find favor with the American people while a spark of patriotism animates their hearts, or a drop of Revolutionary blood run in their veins.

The gentleman from Alabama will no doubt discover another terrible absurdity when Mr. S. stated that Great Britain exported and sold more agricultural produce than any other country in the world. Yet it is strictly and undeniably true. Exported, not in its original form, but worked up and converted into goods, iron, cloths, &c., consisting of raw materials and breadstuffs. Great Britain exported, on an average, more than two hundred and fifty millions of dollars worth of manufactures, one-half of the whole value of which consisted of the produce of the soil. The United States took about one-fifth part of all the exports of Great Britain—being more than all Europe put together. In a report of a committee in the British Parliament, made some years ago, it appeared that the British goods consumed by the people of the different countries of Europe, France, Russia, Prussia, Austria, Spain, Belgium, &c., amounted to *fourteen cents'* worth per head, while the people of the United States in the same time consumed *three hundred and fifty-four cents'* worth per head! This showed the immense importance of the American market to Great Britain, and accounted for her great solicitude to retain it. It also showed the superior wisdom of the European Governments in excluding British goods by high and prohibitory tariffs; thus developing and relying upon their own resources, encouraging and sustaining their own national industry, promoting their own prosperity, and thus establishing (as we should do) their own national independence on the most solid and lasting foundations.

Mr. S. invited scrutiny into the facts he had stated; he challenged contradiction. He put them before gentlemen, and begged them to examine and disprove them if they could. He invited them to reflect upon them in a spirit of candor. To dismiss from their minds all party bias; to rise for once superior to the low grovelling prejudices of party; to wake up to the great interest, and feel for the real strength and true glory and independence of their native land.

DEFENCE OF THE VOLUNTEERS AND WHIGS.

Upon a bill increasing the number and pay of certain officers Mr. STEWART made the following remarks in behalf of the Volunteers:

Mr. STEWART said that he thought the committee were expending too much of their time in making provision for the officers of the army, and not enough in making provision for the privates in the ranks. He inquired of the Chair whether it would be in order to move an amendment to the amendment now proposed making an increase in the pay of volunteers. The officers were well paid and could take care of themselves, but what was to become of the families of the poor volunteers, who encountered all the hardships of military service for seven dollars a month? It was a very comfortable thing to have an officer's birth and ample provision from Government, while the men had to fight for almost

nothing. He thought it was these very men, who after all had to bear the brunt of the battle, who ought first to be provided for.

Mr. S. had risen mainly for the purpose of vindicating himself and those who acted with him from a false and calumnious charge. The Whigs in that House had been charged with throwing cold water upon the war, disheartening the nation, and decrying and discouraging the volunteers. Now, actions spoke louder than words, and he should, on this occasion, appeal to facts to show who were and who were not justly liable to this charge. What were the facts?

A few days since a bill had been returned from the Senate reducing the pay of the volunteers from ten dollars a month to seven dollars a month, and on concurring with that reduction the yeas and nays had been called; and what was the result? The Whigs in that House went in a body against concurrence and for giving the volunteers ten dollars, while every member of the Democratic party, with the exception of *eight*, had voted to reduce their pay to seven dollars. Was that the way patriotic gentlemen encouraged volunteering? Mr. S. looked at votes, not at speeches. He did not ask who flattered the volunteers, but who voted to pay them. Apply this test, and how stood the two parties? Who voted to give them ten dollars a month? The Whigs. Who were for reducing their pay to seven dollars? The Democrats. Mr. S. had produced this stubborn fact for the vindication of himself and his friends. He appealed to the record. There stood the yeas and nays. Let gentlemen deny their own votes if they chose.

What more? Mr. S. had introduced a resolution which proposed to increase the pay of volunteers to ten dollars, and to give them a hundred and sixty acres of land. Here was another test. Every Whig but *five* voted in favor of the motion, but it was voted down by gentlemen on the other side.

Mr. S. had renewed the same proposition yesterday in Committee of the Whole, but it was again voted down by gentlemen on the other side in a body. Now, he wanted the country to understand this matter. A strong effort was making to cause the people to believe that the Whigs were opposed to the war; that they were throwing embarrassments in the way of the Administration, disheartening the army, and discouraging the volunteers. These slanders were repeated every day in the official, (the Union,) and copied from it into all the party papers, the followers of the Union, in the country. Yet how stood the fact? Who was it that discouraged the volunteer? Was it the Whigs, who were ready to pay him ten dollars a month and give him a comfortable farm; or was it the so-called friends of the Administration, who wanted him to fight for nothing and find himself? Seven dollars a month! A pretty amount of pay for a farmer or a mechanic, who could get a dollar a day by laboring at home, but who forsook his business and his family, and went into the sickly climate of Mexico, encountered the dangers of the camp, the fatigues of the march, and the blood and carnage of the battle-field! It was said he went for glory. Yes; but could his wife and children live upon glory? The Whigs were ready to give him a tract of land; the Democrats voted it down two to one. The Whigs wanted to give him ten dollars; the Democrats gave him seven. Was not this very patriotic? Here were gentlemen, flaming patriots too, who received their eight dollars for spending a few hours a day in legislation, and who then returned to all the comforts of a plentiful home, and could very coolly vote a man seven dollars a month (less than what they themselves received a day) for going to Mexico, a distant and uncongenial climate, and exposing himself to the lances and the bayonets of the foe! These were the men who encouraged our volunteers! These were the friends of the war! These were the supporters of the President! While the Whigs, they say, threw cold water on the war and the volunteers, and all patriotic men who were ready to fight for the honor of their country.

Mr. S. wanted to fix the responsibility just where it belonged. When it was proposed to give the volunteers ten dollars per month, there were but eight Democrats in favor of it, and but five Whigs against giving them ten dollars and one hundred and sixty acres of land; yet the Whigs are discouraging volunteers! Reverse the case; let but eight Whigs vote to pay the volunteers, and *five* Democrats against it, and what tremendous denunciations would follow. Whigs would be expelled the House as tories and traitors outright. After their votes were spread before the people, let these gentlemen go home and meet the patriotic and honest farmers and mechanics of the country, and try to make them believe that Whigs were their enemies, and Democrats their friends, and the mechanics would hold up to them the yeas and nays, and tell them that actions spoke louder than words; the wives and daughters of the volunteers who were left destitute to scuffle for a living as they could, would frown upon these men with unalterable abhorrence and indignation.

For his own part, Mr. S. said he had voted for every measure to strengthen the arm of the Executive, and bring the war to a speedy and successful termination; and he should continue so to vote. He wished to see this war brought to a successful termination; and he should do every thing in his power to promote such a result. War was a terrible calamity to any country, and especially to a country like this; and no matter what he might think of the conduct of the Executive in bringing on this war without consulting Congress, then in session; no matter what he might think of the Executive in determining upon his own responsibility that we had good cause of war, and acting upon that determination without the concurrence of Congress, with whom alone resided the war-making power; no matter what might be thought of the conduct of the President in blockading the Rio Grande, and marching the army from Corpus Christi to Matamoras and pointing our guns into that city, within the acknowledged limits of Mexico, itself an act of hostility, and leading inevitably to war; how far the President could be defended in such a course without first submitting the alleged causes of war to the consideration of the Representatives of the people who had to fight the battles and bear the burdens, were questions he would not now discuss. The President had assumed the responsibility, and he would have to meet it. The war is upon us; no matter how or by whom brought on, it is our duty to prosecute it to a speedy and honorable conclusion; and to this end he was ready to give all the money, all the men, all the energy and power of the Government. He would not now further detain the committee; he wished not to assail others, but this much he felt constrained to say, in vindication of himself and his friends against the false charges made on this floor and in the public press, that the Whigs were endeavoring to discourage volunteers and embarrass the Government in the prosecution of the war.

As to the provisions of the present bill, Mr. S. was opposed to making the office of paymasters permanent; and he hoped, therefore, either that the amendment of the gentleman from New York (Mr. Hungerford) would prevail, or that the second section which repealed the existing law would be stricken out. He then said that if the motion was now in order, he would move to increase the pay of volunteers in the existing war to ten dollars a month, and to make a donation of one hundred and sixty acres of land to all who served to the end of the war, and to the heirs of those who died in the service. This motion was afterwards submitted by Mr. S. and rejected.

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